UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

If Not Capital Punishment—Then What?

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Inner Mongolia Committee

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Charles Fletcher Dole—An Appreciation

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Re-birth of Christianity

By CHARLES STRONG

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part IV, Chapter XIV—By M. K. GANDHI

VOLUME C | NUMBER 16

Chicago, December 26, 1927

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBERTS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

Editors:
John Haynes Holmes — Francis Neilson
Curtis W. Reese — Louis L. Mann

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700 Oakwood Boulevard **CHICAGO**

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME C | MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1927 | NUMBER 16

CHRISTMAS—1927

Watchman, what of the Night?

'Tis dark, for the moon is down.
But high o'er the roofs of Bethlehem town,
A star like a lantern hung!

Watchman, what of the Night?

'Tis still, for the houses sleep.
But far on the hills by the folded sheep,
A song like an angel's sung!

Watchman, what of the Night?

Hark! down the empty street
Comes a beggar pair, with sodden feet,
To knock at the tavern door!

Watchman, what of the Night?

All's well! In a stable nigh,
The beggar man and his woman lie
Close on the manger-floor!

—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Signs are multiplying that Mr. S. O. Levinson's plan for the financial reorganization of Europe as a basis for enduring peace is destined to find impressive support. The *New Republic* and the Chicago *Daily News,* which shared with UNITY the distinction of giving the Levinson plan to the world, have already strongly endorsed the plan editorially. The *Christian Century* and the *Jewish Advocate,* both religious weeklies, like UNITY, in Mr. Levinson's home city, Chicago, have come out enthusiastically for his proposal. Canadian papers have lauded the scheme, with certain reservations. But the most interesting and important testimony is coming from Europe, especially France. Thus, Gaston Jeze, professor of financial science in the University of Paris, described as "perhaps the best known French economist," announces that "the main idea of the Levinson plan is excellent." He feels some question as to the practicability or wisdom of certain details, but declares that Europe should be grateful to Americans who understand that "all financial problems bequeathed by the war are closely united, and must be considered together." Even more emphatic support is given by Deputy Vicent Auriol, former chairman of the finance committee of the Chamber of Deputies and a leading political financier.

> If the plan were supported by the American public, (says M. Auriol) it would be immediately approved by all the great European labor organizations which, since the Armistice, have been demanding a unified radical solution of the debts and reparations problem. The Levinson plan shows remarkable progress in the evolution of American thought—and will be considered in Europe an excellent augury.

M. Auriol goes on to say that he believes "the main ideas in the Levinson plan will ultimately be adopted," and to this end he urges that the plan be studied by a conference of financial experts. The great idea of a sixty-two year treaty against war, which links up the financial plan so triumphantly with the Outlawry program is warmly endorsed by Vicent Auriol. All in all, Europe is offering impressive approval of Mr. Levinson's proposal. Meanwhile we record with immense satisfaction the introduction of the epoch-making scheme into the United States Senate by Mr. Borah. The plan is now officially before the country and the world. God speed its adoption!

Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, has come out for a referendum on wars and conscription acts. Congress should not have the power to declare war, or to conscript life for war purposes, says "Big Bill," unless duly authorized so to do by referendum vote of the people. The Mayor advocates an amendment to the Constitution thus limiting the powers of Congress. This strikes us as a fatal blow at last at the whole referendum idea. For surely no serious person can any longer champion this proposal now that the Chicago clown has added it as one more stunt in his circus repertoire. But we want to use this opportunity as one more occasion for pointing out the utter and perfect absurdity of a war-referendum program, so appropriately proposed by William Jennings Bryan, and now so appropriately supported by William Hale Thompson. Imagine, if you can, a nation taking a "great and solemn referendum" on the question, Shall we go to war, amid the intense excitement of the crisis which has made the question of war immediately imminent! Imagine the people voting for peace while the armies and fleets of the enemy were already in motion, while banners were flying and bands marching, and while newspapers and politicians and 100 per cent Americans were screaming their heads off for a rush to arms in defence of the nation's honor! A lot of

chance pacifism would have at such a time. Of course, Mayor Thompson sees the folly of expecting one country to adopt the referendum idea alone. With the referendum, as with disarmament, it is all or none! So the Mayor declares that the United States must take this step in concert with other nations. Which raises an interesting picture! Suppose, in a contingency of war, that two nations, bound to the referendum idea, proceeded to ballot. Then suppose that one nation voted in favor of war, and the other nation against war. What chance would the pacifist nation then have of preserving its wished for peace? The other nation, duly forced into war by vote of the people, would have to fight, and the pacifist nation, in spite of its referendum, would also have to fight. Absurdity on absurdity! This referendum plan is worthy of the brains of the two "Bills," but other people should be ashamed to support it.

But we must recur to another and more important aspect of this idea of a referendum on war. We say "recur," because we have mentioned it before in these columns. We refer to the fact that war is made no better by being supported by popular vote. We are as much of a democrat as any man, but we have never believed that the franchise of the people could make sacred or justifiable anything which by its very nature is abominable. When a whole community rises up and puts through a lynching in one vast uproar of public approval, does this make the lynching right? Was the institution of chattel slavery a good thing, challenging the support of good men, when it was sustained by public sentiment in America? War remains forever what it is. As not all the perfumes of Arabia could cleanse the bloody hand of Lady Macbeth, so not all the ballots of an entire people can make right and holy the bloody battles of a war. What the referendum idea does is simply to add *one more sanction* to the institution of war which already has so many sanctions as to disgrace as well as ruin humanity. The whole success of the peace cause is wrapped up in the endeavor to remove and wipe out these sanctions. We must strip Mars naked of his defences and supports, that we may slay him and thus forevermore be done with him. It is *war* we must destroy in all its forms, and under all its sanctions. Give a war the approval not only of a president and a Congress, but of a vast majority of the people! Such a war is still murder, still a crime, still a horrid, hideous, brutal, abominable thing. Grant a war the unanimous support of the people! We would still oppose it, and still have nothing to do with it. We are through with war, all wars, under whatever circumstances, to whatever ends, with whatever sanctions. For this reason we have not the slightest interest in these referendum proposals. Away with such stuff and nonsense! Let's get down to business!

Miss Mayo's book, "Mother India," is getting what it deserves in India. What a pity that the exposure there being made of its false emphases, distorted and fallacious conclusions, perversions of fact, and out-and-out deceptions and falsehoods, cannot be spread abroad in America and England! On our table lies a pamphlet, just received from India, entitled "A Rejoinder to 'Mother India.'" Written by K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer,* it is a sober, careful, but everlastingly devastating review of Miss Mayo's work. Nobody can retain even elementary respect for our American authoress after reading this "exposé." Mahatma Gandhi's study, equally devastating, has been widely published in this country, thanks to the *Nation,* and need not be discussed further in this place. What the *Nation* did for Gandhi, however, UNITY would now do in some measure for its own representative in India, Rabindranath Tagore. Referring to Miss Mayo's statement that the poet had written disparagingly of western medical science, Tagore declares that he had "never done anything of the kind, and that no such passage could be found in any of his English writings." The extracts taken by Miss Mayo from his essay in Count Keyserling's symposium on Marriage, continues Tagore, had been "entirely divorced from their context and thus made to represent what he had never held at any period of his life." As regards the constant misuse made by Miss Mayo of Gandhi's writings, Tagore states that this had "deeply pained" him. He felt the "wrong that had been done Mahatmaji in such a libellous way." It is obvious from such repudiations as these from the most authoritative sources, that Miss Mayo has published an utterly unreliable, even deliberately wicked book, with the clear purpose of portraying India as an uncivilized country, and thus of sustaining the cause of English rule. We sympathize with our Indian brethren in their sense of outrage, and pledge our utmost efforts, on their behalf, to expose "Mother India" and thus discredit it in the public mind of America.

We have been looking through the second volume of Mark Sullivan's perfectly delightful history of "Our Times." The very first page we chanced to open was page 532, on which appears a picture of the once familiar face of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, "who," says the caption, "argued that the Pure Food Law was a curtailment of liberty." That was interesting! We turned to the text. Sure enough, on December 13, 1905, the distinguished Senator, who "rarely made speeches," says Mr. Sullivan, rose to speak against the

bill in the name of "the liberty of the people." In his address, he asked, with passionate fervor,

> Is there anything in the existing condition that makes it the duty of Congress to put the liberty of all the people of the United States in jeopardy? . . . Are we going to take up the question as to what a man shall eat and what a man shall drink, and put him under severe penalties if he is eating or drinking something different from what the Chemists of the Agricultural Department think desirable?

Farther down on this same page we read that not only Senator Aldrich but the great Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, had been concerned about liberty as affected by this bill against diseased meat, decomposed or dangerously adulterated food — poison, in other words. "This bill," cried the Wisconsin Solon, "needs revamping in the interest of the liberty of the citizen." All of which sounds just about as queer and quaint as the long skirts, the leg-of-mutton sleeves, the bicycles and other curious 1905 paraphernalia which adorn the numerous pictures in Mr. Sullivan's volume! But no more queer and quaint, to the mind of this humble scribe, than the same appeals in the name of liberty against the Prohibition Amendment and the Volstead Act as these will appear a generation hence in some history of these "our times." The parallel between the opposition to pure food legislation yesterday and the opposition to Prohibition legislation today seems to us to be exact. In both cases, we have an attempt upon the part of the state to rid the land of poison—on the one side, poisoned food, and on the other side, poisoned drink. In both cases, we encounter opposition to this attempt on the ground of "the liberty of the citizen." In both cases, of course, this oppostion is as silly as it is misguided. We know this now in the case of Aldrich, Spooner, et al. We will know this tomorrow in the case of our devoted "wets."

The game of chess is unfathomably mysterious to the uninitiated. It seems now to have been explored to its remotest nook and cranny, leaving no attractions to the truly adventurous spirit. Another world championship match has recently been played off in Buenos Aires. The late champion who suffered defeat after more than eighty days of battle analyzes the experience. While detracting in no way from the prowess of his victorious foe, he maintains that only physical and nervous fag can henceforth account for the defeat of any master of the game. Given the physical stamina to remain the perfect machine two masters will go on indefinitely playing drawn games, no decision being possible. Recent championship matches have gone far to justify his contention. He and his opponent played many more drawn games than defeats or victories. He says there are two or three perfect masters living, and there will soon be more. Conceivably every chess player might achieve such skill that sheer blunder would alone make possible a win or a loss. There is profound ethical suggestion in the affair. Some of the new psychologists would reduce all of life's processes to similar mathematical formulas. Such determinism is thought to forestall and eliminate ethics. But even on this accounting does not ethics creep back into the arena of human activity? If ends and processes are thus mathematically determined, variations can be accounted for only as blunders on the part of the somewhat less than mechanically perfect player? Such profound questions aside, is there not something uncanny about the complete exhaustion of the resources of this king among the so-called games of chance? It is now demonstrated that there is no chance about the game. It is sheer and impeccable mathematics. It is a *cul de sac* from which the explorer finally turns away wearied and disgusted. This the former champion proposes to do. He will groom himself physically for one more essay, to demonstrate his contention, then he will quit. This is his announcement. Either through our ignorance, or different character, life, for us, is different. Thank the powers that be!

If Not Capital Punishment—Then What?

The system of capital punishment which is in operation in most of the states of this country, and which is practiced in many of the European nations, is condemned on every count.

First, it stands condemned by the evidence of history which shows an unmistakable trend away from the uses of cruel methods of punishment toward more humane restraints. Torture by boiling alive, slow poisoning, public beheading, disembowelling, tearing limb from limb and other unspeakable methods are giving way before a steady, rising standard of public morality.

In England, only 150 years ago, about 250 crimes were punishable by death. But such is the revulsion against this general exhibition of cruelty, that capital punishment is reserved for only one offense: namely, that of murder in the first degree. The same story can be read from the pages of history in almost every race and nation in the world.

In the second place, capital punishment is condemned by our ethical judgment. Killing the killer does not right a wrong. There is no reason for the popular assumption that the state is above individual private moral standards. When the state kills in war,

it does what it condemns the individual for doing, and when it destroys the life of a criminal it again performs an unethical act which it condemns the individual for performing. It is true that the motives and circumstances are not wholly alike. The State takes life after calm deliberation and by law. The criminal usually kills when under the lash of passion. But does this difference make capital punishment more ethical? Its very deliberateness is its own condemnation.

Again, capital punishment is condemned by the fact that it does not do what its chief protagonists claim; that is, protect society. Most people believe in putting the murderer to death because of the value of this act as a restraint to other criminals who might contemplate murder. But the facts are solidly against any such assumption. When pickpockets were hung in public in England, other pickpockets plied their trade among the people assembled at the hanging because "everybody was looking up." The public execution of murderers in the electric chair is nearly always followed by several murders in the same vicinity or state.

In those nations which have abolished capital punishment, there has been no net proportional increase of homicides. In fact, the rate per 100,000 of population has almost invariably gone down! And in those states of the United States where capital punishment is either illegal or abrogated we have a smaller homicide rate than in many of the states which still retain the practice! The lowest homicide rate in the country is in a state where the execution of criminals has not been practiced for many years. The highest rate is in a state which has practiced capital punishment for years.

The practice is again condemned because of the terrible uncertainties connected with it. We know that many innocent people have been beheaded, hung or electrocuted by the state. Warden Lawes cites the instance of a man who came to within a half hour of death in Sing Sing, but who was finally proved to be entirely guiltless of the crime of which he was charged. What shall we say of the unknown number of innocent men who have died at the hand of the state because they lacked money or influence for retrials of their cases? It is an appalling responsibility for you and me as citizens to bear. If we are not in favor of taking the full personal responsibility of that act, we must work for removing the law from the statute books.

Our fear of our ethical judgments prevents us from trusting the right. But history proves itself to be on the side of ethics.

Our faith in physical violence dies hard, but it is hoped that it will finally die before the onslaught of the facts which prove its ineffectiveness.

But the question remains, what shall we do with the murderers if we abolish the death penalty?

It seems that there is but one ethical and satisfactory answer to that question; namely, segregate them for the protection of society, and then treat them so that *they can redeem their characters by lives of sacrifice.*

How could this be done? It does not seem difficult.

First, give the prisoner work to do—creative, worthwhile work, which would keep his mental and physical powers from stagnation or degeneracy. Give him opportunities for outdoor exercise, a reasonable amount of recreation, decent food, and those opportunities of an intellectual and moral character which will stimulate the best in him. It is a well known fact that murderers are frequently of the better class of prisoners, the large majority having no previous criminal record. There are brutal, degenerate, perverted men. But *most* men in prison have something within them on which they could build.

Second, arrange to give the products of this man's work (or their equivalent in money) to those who have been bereaved. Let the criminal *live the rest of his life* making restitution to society for the wrong he has committed. This gives him something to live for, and furnishes an incentive for personal redemption. This is the only ethical way! All other methods are remnants of retributive justice, relics of an outworn barbarism which has no place whatsoever in our modern civilization.

In the famous parable of the prodigal son, Jesus says that the young man who went into a far country sunk so low that he would fain eat the husks which even the swine rejected. But finally, *he came to himself,* and when this happened, his father who thought of him as morally dead, welcomed him with open arms.

That is the ideal of our treatment of the murderer. Sentimentalism aside, the object of modern penal method must be to help a man to come to himself, to see the horror of his deed, to feel remorse for the act, and finally, to want to redeem himself both in his own eyes and in the estimate of society.

Obviously, capital punishment prevents this process. It is an appalling thing to cut off the life of a man before he has come to himself. It may take years to bring him to such a moral awakening. Some men have thick hides and dull minds. But, slow or fast, that is the only legitimate purpose of punitive methods.

Let us work for it.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

We have said nothing about the President's late message to Congress, because, for the life of us, we could think of nothing to say. Unlike the President himself, we saw no reason for saying this nothing at great length.

There are lots of wicked things that we would like to do. Among others, we would like to see the receipts and expenditures accounts, in their last campaigns, of all the honorable senators who voted to deny the oath of office to Smith, of Illinois, and to Vare, of Pennsylvania.

Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, is death on the men who cast shame upon America. But where among them all is a man who has ever cast such shame upon the nation as this clownish Mayor is doing at this hour? Well may the country, as it looks upon Chicago, lift up the familiar prayer, "Save us from our friends!"

Arthur Ponsonby has presented his "Peace Letter" to Premier Baldwin. Signed by 128,770 persons, it declared:

> We, the undersigned, are convinced that all disputes between nations are capable of settlement, either by diplomatic negotiations or some other form of international arbitration, and we hereby solemnly declare that we shall refuse any support or render war service to any government which resorts to arms.

The list of penitents on the war question keeps on growing. The mourners' bench is getting crowded. Latest amongst the penitents is Dr. Malcolm James MacLeod, of New York, who said on Armistice Day, "My attitude will not be the same as it was when I occupied this pulpit in 1917. I believe I will turn pacifist and go to jail."

Numerous resolutions have been introduced into the House of Representatives calling for investigation of voting conditions in the southern states, especially as regards negro disfranchisement. How curious it would be if the Prohibition Amendment, so largely favored in the South, should lead to a reopening of the whole question of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments!

J. H. H.

The Inner Mongolia Committee

One morning a young Mongolian came to our quarters in Ningsia with a long red strip of paper on which he was taking the names of all who accepted invitation to a banquet given by the Inner Mongolian Committee of the Kuomintang in honor of Borodin. I thus learned that, although Ningsia is not in Mongolia, but only at its portals, the Kuomintang finds it safer and more convenient to have headquarters here, since two-thirds of Inner Mongolia is under Chang Tso Lin.

I was told that the Central Committee in Hankow had promised $100,000 to the Inner Mongolian Committee by formal resolution, but to date not a penny has been forthcoming, and it seems now unlikely that any will come in the near future. The Mongolian Committee, we learned later, being without a cent in its treasury, had borrowed $30 from personal friends for the Borodin luncheon, since they regarded him as "the most important person who has passed through Ningsia."

It was a bit of tragedy for the hopeful Inner Mongolians that three or four of the guests had been to a dinner just preceding theirs, and could eat very little of their viands, and that Borodin himself, having a touch of fever, only came for the first part of the meal, and left to go home to bed, and that three other Russians arrived two hours after the hour set and several others, in their casual Russian way, didn't come at all.

The wife of the chairman, Madam Pei, was a charming creature, with black bobbed hair to indicate her modernity, and a ready facility among men guests which marked her as having shared her husband's activities. After the banquet was over I interviewed both her and the secretary, Mr. Pao, and gained much surprising knowledge of the Inner Mongolians, their conditions and aspirations.

There are 150 tribes of Mongols in Inner Mongolia, they told me, all ruled over by six big families. Some 24 tribes are in the three eastern provinces, Mukden, Chiling, Holungchang. Another 30 tribes are in Kansu, including Alashan to the north which is under Kansu rule. The rest are scattered in Inner Mongolia proper, Suiyuan, Chahar, Jehol, provinces to the northwest of Peking. On the edges of which Feng and Chang Tso Lin have been fighting each other for several years.

The Mongols nearest to Chinese control, i. e., in the Eastern Provinces and Suiyuan, live like Chinese, tilling the soil and with settled habitations. But through the rest of Mongolia the tribes wander as nomads, raising sheep and horses, camping in a sort of tent called "Yurta." Their culture is backward. None the less, there are some brilliant young men among them in the eastern district, because some fifty years ago schools were started. The pupils from these schools are now leading the Revolution.

The royal families of the Mongols, which include not only the big families but also the heads of each tribe, treat the people like slaves, according to Mr. Pao. They take all public lands as their own property and feel free to sell these lands for money which they put in their own pockets, depriving their people of grazing lands and impoverishing the whole tribe. The people are beginning to consider that this is not right, and that there must be revolution.

I have heard myself in other days through O. J. Todd, consulting engineer on irrigation projects under Feng in Northwest China, about these consultations with Mongol princes which resulted in the acquisition

of lands illustrated by the Chinese proverb: "When you invite a Mongol to dinner, he devours himself." Obviously the expanding Chinese were treating the Mongols just as expanding Americans treated the Indians and as all expanding agricultural peoples have treated nomads. But now the nomads were beginning to object, and to organize their objection.

In the first Chinese Revolution (continued Mr. Pao) we Mongols knew it was only a revolution of the Han people (Chinese proper) so we began to start our own government. The independence of Outer Mongolia, achieved at this time, was really done by the Inner Mongolians. For the Outer Mongolians are very backward, but the Inner Mongolians went to them with munitions and soldiers and helped them start a government. The new Chinese Republic sent soldiers to quell the "rebellion." But we defeated the soldiers of Yuan Shi Kai, and had at last a chance to establish a free government for Inner Mongolia also. Then Japan, Russia and China held a conference and demanded that Inner Mongolia be part of China. The czar sent his soldiers and threatened to smash the Outer Mongolian government as well if Inner Mongolia joined it. We had at that time some 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers in Inner Mongolia, but they had to leave because of this conference.

Such was the pre-war tactic of "interested" nations, preserving their spheres of influence under a China which they could dominate.

After this followed a series of adventures. One civilian of Inner Mongolia organized 10,000 soliders against Chang Tso Lin, and at first succeeded but was later killed. During the Russian Revolution another Inner Mongolian capital was established with the aid of Russian White troops. Later a conflict developed between these allies, and the Whites arose in the night, killed all the important leaders of the Mongol government and so destroyed it.

Five years ago began the present move towards freedom, inspired by the example of the Russian Federated Republics, which furnished a model of autonomy plus federation which struck the Mongolian fancy.

Some returned Mongol students from Japan, Peking and elsewhere gathered in Peking for conference. Later they held a conference in Kalgan to start a revolutionary party. They sent delegates to Urga and to Moscow for help. Their aim was independence from Peking; but they are willing to unite with China in a federation, somewhat as the republics in the Union of Soviet Republics are united. Geographically and historically, we cannot break connection with China. On the north and south sides of the same street are Mongols and Chinese.

The revolutionary group of Mongols soon found an affiliation with the Kuomintang of China, and especially with its left wing, which declared for autonomy of all the various nationalities in China. They fought on the side of Feng Yu Hsiang against Chang Tso Lin, and retreated with him later to Kansu. "We consider that the Inner Mongolian Revolution is now a part of the Chinese Revolution," said Mr. Pao. "Also it is under the advice of the Third International as another part of the world Revolution."

Mr. Pao told me of the military school started four years ago in Paotow which has graduated 500 lower officers. The Inner Mongolians gathered some 6,000 to 7,000 soldiers from various princes, to form an army, but the money expected from their Chinese allies did not arrive, and at last the different princes called back their men, except for some thousand remaining in Kansu in Kuomintang work or in the armies of Feng.

"We are planning now to gather 30,000 cavalry to help the Kuominchum against Chang Tso Lin," said Mr. Pao. "At present we have only 5,000 trained. Perhaps 30,000 seem to you not many, but they can deal with ten times their number of Chang Tso Lin's men. For we are strong to suffer and to sleep in the fields and to fight for days without food, which the Chinese cannot do." . . . Thus spoke a descendant of the tribes of Genghis Khan, who once conquered all Asia and far into Europe, reviving in thought the martial abilities of ancient days. Have the Mongols still capacity to organize and fight as a nation? No one knows. But that as individuals they are able fighters has been recognized also by Chang Tso Lin, who buys the services of many Mongolian bandits as fearless fighters in his army.

Can the Mongols find any national feeling strong enough for unity, or are they doomed to fight, as they now do, on both sides of a Chinese war, to their own extinction? I asked Mr. Pao to what extent the revolutionary party aimed also to destroy the power of the Mongolian princes. "The three million Inner Mongolians," he answered, "are beginning to realize that the Kuomintang works for them, while the princes work only for themselves. . . . Most of the royal families are against the Revolution, but a few, to gain favor with the people, try to shake hands with the Revolution."

In general, he told me, the revolution was led by intellectuals and returned students. But since the Kuomintang helps the people against bandits and also stands for their land rights, the masses are beginning to side with the Kuomintang. The Mongolian Revolution makes so far, only two clear demands: First, an autonomous Inner Mongolian Government, federated in some loose way with both Peking and Urga. Second, that all land shall be public land, with right of use by individuals but no right of sale. This is to overcome the present royal prerogative of selling tribal lands to foreigners. As to the first principle, the Kuomintang of China has already sent them a declaration that Mongolia shall have autonomy after the Revolution in China is accomplished.

According to Mr. Pao, the position of women among the Mongols is higher than among the Chinese, since as nomads the women often must do the same work as men, caring for sheep and horses. Children are registered at the ages of three, and all young men must go as soldiers at the age of eighteen. This leaves the women running household affairs. Men have more than one wife, if the first has no child. There are, however, thousands of Lamas, or Buddhist monks, who never marry, and hence the population suffers.

Such are the aspirations of the Inner Mongolian Committee of the Kuomintang. A bit tragic, perhaps, this handful of new intellectuals, of a race which still pursues for the most part its primitive nomad life, uncaring, striving for independence and national unity against czarist Russia, Japan and China. Father Van Dyk predicts that in three hundred years there will be no more Mongols. Two years ago, a Russian consul to the north of Mongolia made to me the same prediction.

"They have not the will to learn," he said, "they have not the will to survive as a people. If nature beats him, the Mongol dies as a dog dies, as an individual only. No Mongol cares what happens to the Mongols." . . . Yet here, in far away Ningsia, Chinese trading town for the wandering Mongol people, was a little outpost of Mongol revolutionary feeling which was beginning to care. Hardly anyone

outside their borders has ever heard of them. Will they have in the end the power to create a national feeling, and the will to survive as a people, out of the race that once conquered its way to the very heart of Europe, under the banners of Genghis Khan?

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

Charles Fletcher Dole

An Appreciation

Wrote Philip Gilbert Hammerton:

I compare the life of the Intellectual to a long wedge of gold—the thin edge of it begins at birth, and the depth and value of it go on increasing till at last comes death—which stops the auriferous process. O the mystery of the nameless ones who have died when the wedge was thin and looked so poor and light! Oh, the happiness of the old men whose thoughts go deeper and deeper, like a wall that runs out into the sea!

Charles Dole lived past eighty, truly a golden life, the "depth and value of it" increasing till death came. Happily the end did not arrive until he had written and published the beautiful story of it, "My Eighty Years."

What a story it is! A New England boy, reared in a religious home where duty and love ruled; a graduate of Harvard and Andover; professor of Greek for a year; pastor of an Orthodox Church for three years; forty years minister of a Unitarian Church in a suburb of Boston; eleven years free from church responsibilities, a minister at large; and during all the long adult years of his life a fearless seeker for truth, a devoted lover of men, and an ethical and spiritual teacher giving forth constantly by voice and pen a message as high and fine as that of Channing.

When the end came, how did he go?

He went down
As a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

Who shall fill his place?

As I think of Mr. Dole, he seems to me above all else to have been four things—a Thinker, a Humanist, a Worshiper, and a Fighter.

What a Thinker he was! A few months ago I put the question to one of the most brilliant of your younger Unitarian ministers, who had had fine training at Harvard and elsewhere: "Who in our ministry or in that of any of the other churches, do you regard as our best religious Thinker today—I mean the man whose thought seems to you the freshest, the most alive, the truest, the deepest, the most worth while?" He answered: "Dr. Dole." Would I have answered the same if the question had been asked me? Yes.

Charles Dole seldom quoted, though a wide reader. He seldom mentioned the thought of others, either to approve or disapprove, but if for either it was almost certainly for commendation, not for criticism. He never posed as one who had a philosophical or theological system to propagate or defend, much less as one bent on overturning the theological or philosophical system of somebody else. He was less an echo than almost any other man in the American pulpit. First, last, and all the while, he was simply a Thinker of his own honest thought; and whether you liked his thought or not, you had to confess that it was as fresh as morning sunlight, as fresh as the water from a deep well. And if you listened to it or read it in a really candid mood, you generally found yourself compelled very soon to like it, it was so candid, so sincere, so genuine, so penetrating, illuminating and appealing, so modest and yet so profound, and so true to the truest and deepest in your own soul.

What a Humanist he was! Not a Humanist of a negative kind; not of a kind that drops out any of the great, deep ethical or spiritual realities of the past, calling that progress; but of the kind that keeps every faith, every hope, every ideal, every incentive that ennobles humanity and comforts the deep heart of man, —a mighty Humanist of the type of Channing, Theodore Parker, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and, if I may add poets, Frederick Hosmer and Samuel Longfellow,—a kind, of which, from the first the Unitarian movement in this country and England has been so gloriously full. No man ever lived that was more deeply interested than was Dole in everything calculated to benefit humanity, to cure the ills of humanity, to lift up humanity to its finest, strongest, and best. Every sermon he ever preached showed this; so did every book he wrote; so did all his many articles in UNITY, as every UNITY reader so well knows; so did all his splendid work in the Boston Twentieth Century Club, and other lines of public activity. Nor was his humanism confined to Boston, or New England, or America, or the white race; it was big as the world—it reached out to all men everywhere who suffer or are wronged.

What a Worshiper he was! It seems to me I never saw any other man to whom God was so near and so real—so much the joy and inspiration of his every day and every hour, so truly the very life of his life—the upper sky of all his dreams, of all his thoughts, all his hopes and faith,—the splendid meaning of his own life, and of humanity's life, and of the world. The glorious thought which makes man a child of the eternities, not a mere insect of a day, and which makes the universe not a blind idiot's dream, but a living Cosmos, full of infinite significance from the smallest electron to the vastest sun in space. He looked so deep, so deep, into the heart of things, as to see that

There's enough of God
In the heart of a rose,
In the smile of a child,
In the dewy blossoms of dawn,
To prove
That Beauty is the Soul of Him,
That Love is His Sceptre,
And that all things created by Him
Face, not the night,
But Eternal Morning.

What a Fighter he was! A physical fighter, a brute fighter, a fighter to kill or wound or injure men? Never! Never! Only little men, moral cowards, men who are only half *men* and the other half *beasts yet,* fight in that way. Dole was a *moral* fighter,—and it takes bravery infinitely greater than that of beasts to do that kind of fighting. When the whole nation had gone insane with fury to go across the sea and kill Germans, he had the intelligence, the patriotism, the honor, the almost superhuman bravery quietly to say, "No!"

Killing Germans is wrong—just as wrong if we kill millions of them in war as if we murdered them one by one with pistols and knives. Furthermore it can accomplish no

possible good for France, or Britain, or ourselves, or the world; but only evil, evil, evil to everybody.

Dole had the superb, the almost unbelievable courage to keep his sanity and say just that, while the multitudes around him, many of them his dearest friends, called him "Red," a "Bolshevik," "a traitor to his country" and other names the bitterest that they knew. It was a terrible experience; it was a crucifixion like that of Calvary. But he no more shrank than did Jesus. Such men are the greatest possible heroes, who shine like stars in the history of the world. And Dole was that kind of a hero, not only in opposing the futile and horrible war of 1914-1918, but all war as unnecessary in this twentieth century, and every other evil that afflicts humanity. Wherever there was a man-fight as distinguished from a beast-fight, that is, wherever there was a fight for freedom, for justice, for right, for truth, for striking chains from human bodies or human souls, in a word, wherever there was a fight that asked men to carry it on with love and not with hate,—there was Dole, always, and in the front rank. And he was as mighty as he was brave. He did not shout and swing a big battle-axe and make a great commotion; but he pierced the armor of his foes with the lance of his keen and irresistible thought and thus was wonderfully effective in winning the battle.

I think we may look upon Dr. Dole as in a sense our American Mahatma Gandhi; or, upon Gandhi as India's Dr. Dole. Dole is not so famous as Gandhi; I am sure it would be for the world's spiritual enriching if he were. I think we may regard the religion of the two men as essentially identical. While Gandhi is the child of Hinduism, he draws his faith not alone from the Bhagavad Gita and other Hindu sacred literature, but also from the Christian Sermon on the Mount and all other inspiring religious books. While Dole was the child of Christianity, he drew his faith not alone from the Bible, but also from the literature of all the religions of the world and all humanity. The world is amazed and electrified at the absolute sincerity and moral fearlessness of Gandhi. Dole was hardly less sincere or fearless. Gandhi was a pacifist. Dole was the same. That two such men should be called by that name ought to lift it up to be one of the most shining and honored names in all the world. Gandhi believes that love is the greatest of all forces, and that sometime, sometime, men will find it out and it will rule the nations. This was Dole's splendid faith too. This proclaims them both true brothers of Jesus.

I remember reading a fine story about Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, of Brighton, England, that most chivalrous knight of the spirit, that Lancelot, that King Arthur, among Church of England preachers. A tradesman of Brighton who had sat for years under his magnetic words and felt all their mighty uplifting power, tells us that after Robertson's death he placed a fine picture of him in the back room of his store, and for years whenever he felt a temptation in his business to do anything that was not in the strictest sense right, he made himself go back and take a look at that strong face and into those pure eyes; and at once the temptation was gone, and he found it impossible to stoop below high honor. Dole was another Robertson. His influence was just the same. It always seemed to me that in his presence it was impossible to think a sordid or low thought, or to have a feeling that was other than fine and sweet, or to be a coward, or to hate anybody, or to be indifferent to any human interests. If ever in his presence you were tempted to say a mean word or think a mean thought, his clear, pure eyes looked straight down into your soul and said to you with infinite tenderness, "No! No! No! Life is too high and beautiful for that." And then all the little devils of low thought flew out of your mind, ashamed, and bright angels of good thoughts came in their place. I am sure Charles Dole, though no longer seen in the flesh, will go on and on and on, longer than any of us know, putting integrity, purity, sanity, sincerity, honor and moral strength into all who personally knew him, and also into thousands who only knew *of* him, or read his words of simple beauty and spiritual penetration so marvellously like the words of Jesus.

Thank God for that daring, that luminous soul
Who "saw things straight and saw them whole,"
Whom with pride we call *our* Charles F. Dole!
With conscience sound
As the world is round!
With love as wide
As the ocean's tide!
With courage true
As the sky is blue!
A glorious knight
Of love and light,
Of manhood's worth
And reason's might!
God give us men like Charles F. Dole!
And then, and then,
As the seasons roll,
They shall nearer bring the shining day
When war and hate shall pass away,
When Love shall over the nations brood
And earth become the Kingdom of God.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Appendix

I could not forgive myself if I failed to call attention at this time to Dr. Dole's remarkable books. There are twenty-two of them, a large number. But that is not the thing of main importance. The very titles tell a story—the most important story there is to tell about this rare Thinker, Preacher and Writer,—the story not of his outward life, but of his true, deeper, inward life—his penetrating thought, his high ideals, his noble democracy, his real interests, what he most cared for, what his religious ministries really meant, what he preached about, wrote about, talked about most earnestly in private conversation, what he loved and lived, and tried to help others to love and live. Each title suggests a subject of living interest, of vital importance to you, to me, to everybody, not a thousand years ago, but today.

The titles follow:

The Citizen and the Neighbor, 1884;
Early Hebrew Stories, 1886;
Jesus and the Men About Him, 1888;
The Golden Rule in Business, 1895;
A Catechism of Liberal Faith, 1895;
The Coming People, 1897;
Luxury and Sacrifice, 1898;
The Young Citizen, 1899;
The Theology of Civilization, 1899;
The Problem of Duty, 1900;
The Religion of a Gentleman, 1900;
Noble Womanhood, 1900;
The Smoke and the Flame: from Agnosticism to Theism, 1903;
The Spirit of Democracy, 1906;
The Hope of Immortailty (Ingersoll Lecture, Harvard), 1906;
What We Know About Jesus, 1908;
The Ethics of Progress, 1909;
The Coming Religion, 1910;
The Burden of Poverty, 1912;
The New American Citizen, 1918;
A Religion for the New Day, 1920;
My Eighty Years: An Autobiography, 1927.

When you have read these remarkably suggestive titles, purchase as many of the books as you can, and read them, give them to friends, put them in public libraries, and recommend them right and left. J. T. S.

For All the Gladness of Life

For the gift of life in this wonderful world,
For its high cost and its mystery,
For the sure laws of health, making joy,
For power and intelligence, awake to see and to know,
We bring hearts full of gladness.

For the changing seasons and their contrasts,
For the sheen of the snow fields,
And the splendor of winter days,
For the warmth and light of our firesides,
We are glad and thankful.

For the coming of the spring and the long days,
For all growing things flowering into life,
For running brooks and sunny meadows,
And the coming of song birds in the trees,
We are glad and happy.

For joyous summer hours of rest,
For scenes of wonder and beauty,
For the glory of the hills and the sea,
For serene sunsets and moonlit nights,
We keep glad memories.

For the golden days of autumn,
For the color of the woods,
The ripened fruits and the harvests of wheat,
The merry-makings and the corn-husking,
We raise our songs.

For the joy and love of our homes,
For the grace and faithfulness of excellent women,
For the children's laughter and music,
For honorable ancestry and noble discipline,
May we be rich forever.

For all true friends, here with us or absent,
The generous, the loyal, the brave and sincere;
For the bond of devotion, making us one,
For broadening peace and good-will through the world,
Our hearts beat in gladness.

For beautiful works of art and skill,
Paintings and statues of heroes,
For temples, towers, and cathedrals,
For singers and music and poets,
We are glad and rejoice.

For the leaders of men in all nations,
Thinkers, inventors, teachers, and statesmen,
Defenders of freedom and justice, seekers of truth,
For all lovers of men, the unthanked and humble,
We bring our praise.

For great thoughts, the secrets of wisdom,
For order and law, binding the stars,
For righteousness at the heart of the world,
One mind, one law, one will,
We bow in reverence.

For evil turned into good and sorrow to joy,
For darkness giving way to the sunshine,
For the right victorious over injustice,
For all good things that cannot die,
We lift up our hearts.

For one religion, beneath all names and creeds,
For faith in the goodness eternal, in man, and in progress,
For all high inspirations,
And the hope of life everlasting,
We are glad evermore.

—*Charles F. Dole.*

The Re-birth of Christianity*

One of the distinctive ideas of today is that man is still in the making. As the poets say:

"The thoughts of men are widened
With the process of the sun."—*Tennyson.*

"Man is not man as yet."—*Browning.*

Wherever man is living he is changing, if not always consciously, then sub-consciously. There are shaded pools where the river seems to sleep, and eddies in which it seems to flow back, but the current is all the while sweeping onward to the sea.

Such a time is the present, when social and religious movements, which have long been growing, ripen, and we become conscious how far we have drifted from our old moorings, and that the old landmarks are disappearing beneath the horizon.

We are not the first to pass through such an experience. Did not the Hebrew prophets, standing on their watch-tower, proclaim the coming of a new day? What a revolution it must have seemed to Jews, Romans, and Greeks when Christianity appeared, and when, later, its chief bishop took the place of the Caesars, and Jesus took the place of Javeh, of Jupiter, and Zeus! When the Renaissance swept over Europe, followed by the Protestant Reformation, the break-up of the Empire, and the birth of the Western nations, can we not imagine how to some it must have seemed as though chaos had come, and the end of all things was at hand?

All history is the record of constant change, and of crises, when, as the Scriptures say, "not the earth only, but the heavens also are shaken."

There are tremendous changes taking place today, in many departments of human life, but there is none of greater import than the change which is passing over religion.

Religion is no mere thing by itself. It affects, and is affected by, the whole experience of mankind. Any religious change involves a fundamental change in the

*An address delivered by our Australian representative, Dr. Charles Strong, at the Australian Church, Melbourne.

trend of human history; and if there is to be a new world, the world's religion must be made new.

Now there are not wanting signs that religious change is on the way. The great religions of the world, such as Judaism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, cannot stand still. Under the influence of expanding knowledge, and fresh experience and conditions of life, they are bound to change in the future as they have changed in the past.

Religion has changed, is changing, and will change wherever it is a living Force.

But surely, someone may say, Christianity is "the same yesterday, today, and forever."

This is just what I now ask you specially to think about, and to judge for yourselves, as to whether our Christian religion can escape the great law of change, or, as you may prefer to call it, "growth."

(1) My first point is that Christianity has to be reborn in individuals.

Christianity is not a mere traditional or conventional belief. It calls upon each of us to make it his own and her own. In the earlier gospels Jesus says that those who would enter the Kingdom which He proclaimed must turn round, as it were, and become as little children, looking out on life with young, fresh, unsophisticated eyes. And St. Paul says that the things of God have to be "spiritually discerned" by each one for himself. The medieval mystic hymn of Angelus Silesius beautifully expresses the same thought:

> Though Christ a thousand times in Bethlehem be born,
> If He's not born in thee, thy soul is still forlorn.

What Christianity was in the first century, it is today. It is the religion, not of my nation, or my church, my traditions, or my forefathers' and foremothers' traditions, but of myself. It has to be reincarnated in you and me by you and me—music, as it were, to be interpreted by you and me, each in his or her own inner and outer life.

This is the age of great movements. So was the first century of our era. But what are great movements that do not incarnate themselves in personalities? What is Christianity apart from Christians?

(2) If Christianity, however is to be reborn in you and me and our contemporaries, it must be re-adapted and re-applied to the age in which, and the conditions under which we live.

Christianity may be said to have been reborn when, under the influence of St. Paul and others, it passed beyond Palestine, and became the religion of Gentiles as well as of Jews.

Christianity underwent a further change when, in the fourth century, it became the State Religion of the Roman Empire, bound up with Greek philosophy and ancient ideas of priesthood and ritual borrowed partly from the Jewish, and partly from the old pagan forms of worship.

Christianity was reborn in the 16th century, intellectually, socially, spiritually.

But the Protestant Reformation was only a partial rebirth of Christianity. It had one foot in the things that were before, and another in the things that were behind.

Notwithstanding this, the Protestant Reformation may rightly be regarded as a new birth of Christianity.

But gradually the untenableness of the old Protestant position has been making itself felt. The old wine-skins have been bursting.

Christianity, we hope, is not being destroyed, but reborn on a higher intellectual, social, spiritual plane. The real danger to Christianity lies in Christians who, however honestly and conscientiously, insist on standing still, or in returning to the standpoint of the past.

Christianity must be reborn intellectually. The Creeds and Confessions of an earlier age, drawn up in times and circumstances so utterly different from our own, however serviceable they may have been in earlier times, are not in the language of today. They are old clothes of boyhood and girlhood into which we are trying to squeeze ourselves, and squeeze each other, or adding, as Jesus said, "a new piece to the old garment."

Christianity must be reborn socially. The social ideal of Christianity must expand with our changing, expanding social conditions.

We can no longer think that Christian religion's chief concern is "saving" our own souls, or the souls of the heathen, from hell in another state of being, or that the world is to be wound up in a few years, or, it may be, any day. That was once quite a sincere belief, in childish days. Our social system, which, to so great an extent is based on a selfish and sensuous ideal of human life and society, must be reborn on a higher Christian plane of good-will, co-operation, and friendship between man and man, nation and nation, and our provincialism and parochialism must die.

I was one of many clergymen who recently met in Unity Hall, to hear what the sailors had to say about their strike. If rounds of applause from the large gathering of ministers to hear three sailors plead their own cause were to be taken as a sign, it was a sign that religious teachers and professing Christians, whether teachers or not, cannot longer hold aloof from the social reforms demanded today.

Christianity, and the Churches of the spiritual Christ, must cease to content themselves with philanthropic palliatives, splendid though these often have been, and must rise on these, as on stepping stones, to the incarnation of the ideal of co-operation, friendship, brotherhood in our industrial, commercial, and political relations to each other. War must be taboo, and that which lies at the root of war—injustice, greed, covetousness, lust of power, and other things of an anti-social nature.

My last thought is that Christianity must be reborn spiritually.

By this I mean that Christianity must be far more felt to be a religion of spirit—that spirit, the spirit of trust in the Highest as Love, and in Love as the fulfilling of his law.

The old unspiritual conception of God as a despot, however merciful, must die, with the old conception of the Church of God as a fire insurance society.

What our Christian Churches need is a higher religious ideal of life, that will lift us above the bondage of our old theological creeds, and absurd divisions, and unite us in striving to realize together the great and expanding ideal of Jesus—"the Kingdom of God and its righteousness of love." It is not less faith, but more and wider faith, that is wanted, and its wider practical application to a wider world—not resurrection of the old mortal body of faith, but resurrection of a new spirit clothed with a new body, and expressing itself through the thought and language, through the personal and social, and church life of today.

CHARLES STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART IV—CHAPTER XIV

Coolie Locations or the Ghettos?

Some of the classes that are rendering us the greatest social service, and whom we Hindus have chosen to regard as "untouchables," are relegated to remote quarters of town or a village, called "dhedhwado" in Gujarati, and the name has acquired a bad odor. Even so in Christian Europe the Jews were once its untouchables," and the quarters that were assigned to them had the odious name "ghettos." In a similar way we have become the untouchables of South Africa today. It remains to be seen how far the sacrifice of Andrews and the magic wand of Shastri succeed in rehabilitating us.

The ancient Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people of God, to the exclusion of others, with the result that their descendants were visited with a strange and even unjust retribution. Almost in a similar way the Hindus have considered themselves *Aryas* or civilized and a section of their own kith and kin as *Anaryas* or untouchables, with the result that a strange, if unjust, nemesis is being visited not only upon the Hindus in South Africa, but the Musalmans and Parsees as well, inasmuch as these belong to the same country and have the same color as they.

The reader will have now realized somewhat the meaning of the word "locations" to which I am going to devote this chapter. In South Africa we have acquired the odious name of "coolies." The word "coolie" in India means only a porter or carrier, but in South Africa it has a contemptuous connotation and means what a pariah or an untouchable means to us and the quarters assigned to the "coolies" are known as "coolie locations." Johannesburg had one such location, but unlike other places where there were locations and where the Indians had tenancy rights, those in the Johannesburg location had acquired their plots on a lease of 99 years. The Indians were densely packed in the location, of which the area never increased with the increase in population. Beyond arranging to clean the latrines in the location in a haphazard way, the municipality did nothing to provide any other sanitary facilities, much less good roads or lights. It was hardly likely that it would safeguard its sanitation, when it was indifferent to the sanitary welfare of the people. The Indians living there were too ignorant of the rules of municipal sanitation and hygiene to do without the help or supervision of the municipality. If those who went there had been all Robinson Crusoes theirs would have been a different story. But we do not know of a single emigrant colony of Robinson Crusoes in the world. Usually people migrate abroad in search of wealth and trade, and the bulk of the Indians who went to South Africa were ignorant, pauper agriculturists who needed all the care and protection that could be given them. The traders and educated Indians who followed them were very few.

The criminal negligence of the municipality and the ignorance of the Indian settlers thus conspired to render the location thoroughly insanitary. The municipality, far from doing anything to improve the condition of the location, used the insanitation caused by their own neglect as a lever for destroying the location, and for that purpose obtained from the local legislature authority to dispossess the settlers. This was the condition of things when I settled in Johannesburg.

The settlers having proprietary rights in their land were naturally entitled to compensation. A special tribunal was appointed to try the land acquisition cases. In case the tenant was not prepared to accept the offer of the municipality he had a right to appeal to the tribunal, and if the latter's award exceeded the municipality's offer, the municipality had to bear the costs.

Most of the tenants had engaged me as their legal adviser. I had no desire to make money out of these cases, and so I said to the tenants, that I should be satisfied with whatever costs the tribunal awarded, in case they won, and a fee of £10 on every lease, irrespective of the result of the case. I also told them that I proposed to set apart half of the money paid by them for the building of a hospital or similar institution for the poor. This naturally pleased them all.

Out of about 70 cases only one was lost. So the fees amounted to a fairly big figure. But *Indian Opinion* was there with its persistent claim and devoured, so far as I can recollect, a sum of £1,600. I think I had worked hard for these cases. The clients always surrounded me. Most of these were originally indentured laborers from Bihar and its neighborhood and from South India. For the redress of their peculiar grievances they had formed an association of their own, separate from that of the free Indian merchants and traders. Some of them were open-hearted, liberal men of high character. Their leaders were Sjt. Jairamsing the president and Sjt. Badari, who was as good as the president. Both of them are no more. Both were exceedingly helpful to me. Sjt. Badari came in very close contact with me and took a prominent part in Satyagraha. Through these and other friends, I came in intimate contact with numerous Indian settlers of North and South India, and became more their brother than a mere legal adviser, and shared in all their private and public sorrows and hardships.

It may be of some interest to know how the Indians used to call me. Sheth Abdulla refused to address me as Gandhi. None fortunately ever insulted me by calling or regarding me as "saheb." Abdulla Sheth hit upon a fine appellation—"bhai," *i. e.*, brother. Others copied him and continued to address me as "bhai" until the moment I left South Africa, but there was a sweeter flavor about the name when it was used by the ex-indentured Indians.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

The Study Table

Two Great Social Movements

Here are two books,* written by two distinguished public women, telling each the story of the movement of reform to which she has given much of the service of her life.

Mrs. Nathan's volume "tells the story of the Consumers' League," to quote the words of Newton D. Baker in his illuminating Foreword, "from the genesis of the idea through the days of its development to its present days of power." Mrs. Nathan was a part of this "epoch-making movement," as she well describes it in the title of her volume, from the very first days of its organization; she has been one of its most active and influential leaders through the thirty-five years of its history; and now, as Vice-President of the National Consumers' League and Honorary President of the New York Consumers' League, is one of its elder statesmen. With such experience behind her, she writes with authority, and with a pride of achievement which is amply justified.

On the fly-leaf of her book, Mrs. Nathan prints an appropriate quotation from James Russell Lowell . . . "for success, I ask no more than this—to bear unflinching witness to the truth," etc. Were we to affix a quotation, we would set down the familiar words, "great oaks from little acorns grow." In all the history of social reform movements in America, we know of none which illustrates better the potency of clear objectives, intensive methods, persistent and consecrated endeavors. The League started out modestly, but it knew precisely what it desired and intended to do. It discovered and formulated methods of organizing, directing and controlling public sentiment which marked a new era in social work. It kept everlastingly at it through education, agitation and legislation, until it had achieved in the space of a generation a transformation in the field of women's labor. At the bottom of the whole philosophy of the movement was the principle of the power of the consumer over the industry and trade which he supports—a principle which lies at this moment at the heart of Gandhi's great non-cooperation movement in India. Never biting off more than it could chew, always content with the next step toward the goal, seeking practicable reforms and not utopias, handling facts and not dogmas or theories, the Consumers' League has grown from small to large, has become indeed a mighty oak under the shelter of whose branches toil happily today a myriad of workers.

Mrs. Nathan tells her story with no undue elaboration. It is pleasant to read the names of the men and women associated with the work—publicists like John Graham Brooks, scholars like Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, and especially that noble servant of the common weal, Mrs. Florence Kelley, saint among women. The volume closes with a series of appendices, giving classified data, and an excellent index. The book takes its place among the indispensable volumes in the social history of America.

So does Mrs. Dennett's book, though its scope is very different! "Birth Control Laws" is precisely what its title indicates—a reference book of legislation on the subject named. It contains much history in connection with birth control laws and how they happened, but this history is incidental, and thus presents no picture at all of the origin, development and achievements of the birth control movement. It avoids any discussion of the merits of birth control, or its social and racial implications. The volume simply takes the birth control ideal for granted, and presents the situation in this country as a matter of laws and their enforcement, and asks what we are going to do about it. Special stress, of course, is laid upon the national situation, and Mrs. Dennett's own attempt, sustained through six successive years in Washington, to secure legislation by Congress which would relieve the intolerable situation created by Comstock in the days of his glory. Mrs. Dennett believes that it is through federal and not through state legislation that we must win our liberties.

Mrs. Dennett is a valiant fighter. Putting aside all questions of opinion, she deals with facts. Her book, along with Mrs. Nathan's, demonstrates that we need in the birth control field today something of the same concentration and organization of effort that secured victory for the N. C. L. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"The Story of an Epoch-Making Movement," by Maud Nathan. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. $2.50.
"Birth Control Laws," by Mary Ware Dennett. Published by Frederick H. Hitchcock. $2.50.

Correspondence

"Dole's Father."

Editor of UNITY:

The Los Angeles Times of Monday, Dec. 28, 1927, under this heading announced the death of Dr. Charles F. Dole of Boston, "father of the pineapple king." The heading, and a good part of the seven line paragraph were given to the exploitation of the fact that it was the millionaire's "father" who was dead. The forty years that Dr. Charles F. Dole himself carried on his memorable ministry at Brookline, the many volumes and innumerable articles he had written, the rare quality of the man, and his distinguished but non-money-making services were as nothing, not so much as suggested in a line. And this is America! This is the triumph of American Christianity! This is the "ablest public press" in the world! Shades of Jonathan Swift, who shall tell us the irony of it?

ROBERT WHITAKER.

La Crescenta, California.

WAR-GUILT

Editor of UNITY:

Since "the German Government have decided to keep the war guilt question alive," it is useless to keep up the farce of pretending that it is dead, or the tragedy of endeavoring to bury it alive. The moral assassination of a people second to none in the arts and sciences of civilization, a recognized leader in every sphere of European culture, would be monstrous if it could be taken seriously, and is more likely to be disregarded on the ground that it is too ridiculous. There is not an individual among us who would take a libel of similar relative dimensions lying down, and why should it be expected of a nation?

The connection between the stigma of German sole-guilt and reparations is obvious. The "Hang-the-Kaiser," "Make the German's pay," "Squeeze them till the pips squeak," election formed a connection so vital that it could not be ignored at Versailles, where a treaty was framed which admittedly, in the words of one of the framers, was intended to be "a continuation of the war." Thus it came about that a nation which had laid down its arms on the strength of Wilson's Fourteen Points was mulcted in damages so enormous that they could not be stated in figures, but were kept open so that her future resources, like her character, were put virtually in pawn till the end of time. The decree was plainly designed to make the punishment fit the crime; and as the criminal in evidence taken or witness produced or defense allowed, had already been pronounced to be the only criminal in Eu-

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF CHINA

How We Can Help Awakening China for the Present and Future

The Purpose of This Association

The main purpose of the Association is to arouse interest among the Chinese in China and other lands to study the distressing condition of their dependent and orphan children and lay plans to meet these needs in keeping with the situation they now face in new China. They need to be acquainted with the best thought of all lands bearing on these questions and adjust them to fit their present conditions.

The old order is gone forever, chaos prevails everywhere. Dependent fatherless children suffer most in a condition like this. Dr. Robert E. Speer, just back from China, says, "With the breakdown of the family and the disintegration of Confucianism the social and intellectual problems of China are many times increased.

"The center of Confucianism, that has bound China together, is dissolved and it is tragic to see how much is being trampled under foot. They are trying to find something to take its place."

The Association's Relation to Mission Boards

Mission boards, as such, have done little for the orphans in China. In the past famine relief work helped support a number of orphanages, but that has all stopped for years. Most boards are heavily in debt. The Association exists to help the Chinese in the most practical way meet the needs of their neglected homeless children. Although we have no connection with mission boards, we are doing the work that will help every mission board and every Christian enterprise. From the very beginning we are placing the responsibility on the Chinese Christians and we are helping them.

Christianity has reached China under the protection of commercial treaties and Western control. We have therefore had to bear in part the blame of the bad dealings of the Western governments and commercial exploitations. The time has surely come when Christianity should be cleared of all extraneous accumulations, and Christ, in His drawing love and saving power to meet all their needs, given free course. In the work with the dependent and orphan children we want Him to mold their tender lives for the kingdom of God. The whole of China is open for this kind of work.

This is a kind of work that all can see and that appeals mightily to the Chinese of all classes. Christianity now has the opportunity to lead in this work for childhood. Our standing with the masses and especially the leaders for the present and all time to come depends on us using well this opportunity in keeping with the present situation. We will create many new friends for the work in China and in our own country.

The Present Status of the Orphanage Work

There are some twenty-five orphanages scattered over China under Christian control. There are a few non-Christian orphanages established as a result of our example; however, but little has been done for this kind of work. The twenty-five Christian institutions are under the control of the native Christians, as a rule, and supported by these with the gifts that the missionaries have been able to secure from friends in the home land. The missionaries through faith, advice, and encouragement have done much to help the Chinese. The breaking up of the old order and general chaos and anti-Christian movement, especially against certain Western types of Christianity have greatly reduced the gifts from the non-Christian supporters, often placing the Christians and their work in a bad plight. The thousands of orphans we now have and could have in these Christian institutions, if we could secure their support, are in great distress for the absolute necessities of life.

We should come to their relief with all possible speed. The opposition of the anti-Christian forces and the appalling needs of the children should encourage us to do this work for His sake. Never will unselfish love and helpful service be appreciated more or be more far-reaching for things worth while than now in this time of greatest need.

First of all we should take care of the orphans we have and prepare them for useful citizenship. We should arrange to care for all that we could support in the existing institutions. For this we ought to have $300,000. We should also develop model institutions where we can reveal the most useful kind of work with dependent children. This will create interest in the care of childhood all over China. We need additional funds in large amounts, laying the foundation for all time in child welfare work.

We are prepared to send money to any of these institutions. Each institution has its local committee. We have a general committee making a survey of the whole of China created two years ago. We have a Chinese committee for North America and also an American committee to cooperate with the Chinese, prepared to advise and give the best thought for this kind of work.

The Present Value of Money in Saving the Children of China

$5 will house, feed, clothe and educate an orphan for a little more than a month, $50 will for a year, $100 will care for a boy and a girl for a year, $500 will prepare a dependent orphan fully for life's responsibilities, $1,000 will create a self-perpetuating life saving fund for all time to come—as long as money remains near the present value. Anyone wanting to support these young lives for one year or more may have a child assigned you with his name, home, and definite reports as to his development. What greater investment for good-will, friendship and all the blessings of Christianity for the Chinese people will we ever have than now comes to us? Train a young life for the kingdom of God and reveal to the masses "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father."

$125 will build a memorial room to house four children; $250 eight; $500 will build a class room; $2,500 will build and equip a house for twenty-five orphans as their home—a unit in our orphanage plan; $5,000 build the school house; $10,000 the dispensary; $25,000 the chapel or hospital; $50,000 make possible an orphanage where the Chinese give one-half; $100,000 build the entire orphanage plant in many places. What more fruitful and lasting memorial could we have than these, influencing precious lives for all time and eternity?

China's Two Greatest Leaders in New China Commend It Heartily

Dr. and Mrs. Sun, just before Dr. Sun's death, wrote: "Dr. Sun and I greatly appreciate your efforts to help the poor orphans of China by raising them amidst favorable conditions, thus giving them a chance to become useful citizens of China. We are not only interested in your worthy efforts, but are most appreciative and grateful to you." They are the greatest leaders of New China.

Certain Western Forms of Christian Activity Meet Opposition, But Not This Kind of Work—J. W. Bovyer, Central China: "As far as our orphanage work is concerned the people have never been more cordial and appreciative. It is a form of Christianity that appeals to them, but on the other hand they are trying to close out the schools."

We Should Be Wise in Adjusting Our Work to Present Conditions—A. P. Quentin, West China: "Present day criticisms make it incumbent for us Christian workers to undertake such forms of work as appeal greatly to the Chinese mind."

Dr. J. H. Franklin, foreign secretary, writes about our orphanage work, "I have long believed if our efforts . . . were more obviously disinterested, we should probably find more non-Christian people asking: 'In whose name and by what power have you done this thing?' The movement for the establishing of orphanages should, in my opinion, re-

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rope, public opinion might be counted on to sustain the verdict.

Furthermore. Though the basis of the treaty has crumbled away during the years that have elapsed, and it is no longer possible to maintain the theory of German sole-guilt, the wronged criminal is expected to hold to the declaration made under protest, "I alone am responsible." Could any nation of barbarians—not to say a nation which contributed nobly to the Renaissance and the Reformation—be expected to abide by a declaration extorted by a spiritual torture not inferior to that by which the heretics of the Middle Ages were racked into self-condemnation to justify a punishment which had already been decided?

Among the hundreds of books published during the last nine years giving, *inter alia*, the lie to Article 231 of the Treaty, one need only peruse the calm, sane, and scholarly review of "Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy" by Dr. Gooch in order to accept his conclusion that the war was not brought about by any one sinner, but by, "the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did little to abate."

WALTER WALSH.

London, England.

PRAYERS

By

JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Published by The Beacon Press, Boston, Mass.

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ceive large support, and I hope many friends will be raised up for it."

Representative Somers said the other day in Congress, "If America should once more take the lead in China, we will gain the everlasting friendship of what promises to be one of the greatest nations of all times." Our opportunity, as servants of Him who loved the children of the world, has come for us to win the everlasting friendship of awakening China. By doing this we will not only help guide one-fourth of the world's population and "one of the greatest nations of all times," but we will help this nation of the Orient join us of the West in helping children of all lands.

China has ever counted us her friend. Shall we be her friend now in the things worth while? The Jews are raising twenty-five million dollars for their welfare work in Europe, the Catholics many millions for their Near East Welfare work. Shall we not be willing to come to the help of China at this crucial hour of history? The evil forces of the West are organizing for her childhood, shall not we, too, combine our efforts here and in China to save the "little ones," knowing that if we fail to do it to one of the least of these, we fail to do it unto our Saviour?

Would not all like to have a share in making new China? Everyone can have a real share. We can help with our prayers, gifts and cooperation in enlisting others. The boys and girls of the West might organize friendship societies and send their gifts to their brothers in China. A sacrificial gift made now will count for all time to come, and such a gift to save the children will be the most effective and far-reaching.

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